174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official [562] political role in our times. But they have made themselves the guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 182 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptional 515 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

565 [511] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [642] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the aménokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

●162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

631 643 578 For more than a century the life of the Kel Rela has consisted of a constant struggle against the Taïtok. The latter, belligerent and jealous, dreamed only of seizing the aménokalat of the Ahaggar, and the history of the Tuareg of this country is nothing but a long succession of wars where the two fractions were alternately /191/ successful, but where the Kel Rela always kept the advantage thanks to their numerical superiority. The account of these events may be found in the book of Mr. Benhazéra. (1)

1. Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 99 ff.

[162] In the 1838 census the Kel Rela included 312 persons, 38 of them men. In 1905, according to Benhazéra, they numbered 55 to 60 tents.

631 The tobol of the Kel Rela at the beginning included only two tribes, the Dag Rali and the Kgouh-en-Tehlé, as well as a large part of the Issekkemaren. Since then, other fractions have come to seek their protection or to assimilate themselves. Such is the case of the Ait-Loalen and the Relaiddin.

[65] The Imrad call the Kel Rela "the people who cost dearly," thereby making an allusion to the dues which they are obliged to pay them.

[643] The Dag Rali. -- The Dag Rali form the principal fraction of the Kel Rela tobol, on whom the aménokal of the Ahaggar has always relied to enforce his rights, and without whom he would be nothing and could do nothing.

With the Kel Ahnet, they originally formed the Imessiliten tribe, and they were said to be the descendants of Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinan, the ancestor of the Kel Rela. They sprang from four sub-fractions: the Ikechchemaden, attached to the Taïtok tobol, the Imessiliten, the Oulad Ir'dal, the Dag Mertemek.

At the present time they are subdivided into: 1) Kel Tahat, 2) Kel Tarahananet, 3) Kel Tamanrasset, 4) Kel Hirhafok, 5) Kel Arechchoum. To the Dag Rali must be added a few individuals, today completely assimilated with them; they are descendants of

631 They nomadize near Ideles, T-i-n Tarabine, Temasint, Aïtoklane, Ẋrokam, Serouanout, and in the Ẋnahef.

[162] They now number 50 men and 102 women. This predominance in the number of women is quite rare in Tuareg tribes.

[233] They own about 350 camels and a thousand goats.

[241 423] The Aïtoklane and T-i-n Tarabine centers of cultivation are their property, but they have been left fallow for several years for lack of manpower.

631 669 They took part in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and the guide Ser'ir ben Cheikh who led it into the ambush of the Iheaouen wadi, had ties in the tribe. They were also at Tit and rebelled as early as December, 1916. They bear the entire responsibility for the assassination of Father de Foucauld and made up [797] the majority of the raiding party which came to kill him at Tamanrasset.

Several reconnaissance missions were launched against them (Sgt. Remiot), which did not prevent them from giving hospitality to Ajjer rebels and taking part in the battle of In Eker with the rebel bands of Chief Abeuh ag Khabelli, one of the biggest robbers in the Tassili.

631 [181] The Aï't Loaien form a perfectly undisciplined tribe which must constantly be called back to order and which is always ready to escape from control when we relax our hand a bit.

[651] They pay an annual tribute of six bags of dates to the aménokal.

The Relaiddîn. -- The Relaiddîn probably came from Aïr, like the Ẋgouh-en-Tẖlé, to whom they are related. They camp near them in the northeastern part of the Koudia and go up toward T-i-n Tarabine and Aïtoklane.

[162 651] They number only a dozen tents and about ten able-bodied men. They pay the tioussé to the Iboglân.

[177 233] This tribe was formerly rich and strong, possessing nearly 400 camels at the time of the French occupation; today they count only about 20, and 300 goats as opposed to 1, 500. They owe this state of things to losses which they suffered during the revolt of 1916-1918, and which they could never compensate for.

631 /197/ They do own a few gardens at Tazerouk, Ti-n-Tarabine, Attoklane, and Sersouf, but all lie fallow.

[669] During the revolt, they left the Agouh-en-Tehlé in dissent, but they soon surrendered, for their position between the Ahaggar and the Ajjer always put them at the mercy of raids by the latter.

[651] The Relaiddin pay an annual tribute of two loads of grain, a pot of butter, and a goat to the aménokal.

[162] To the Relaiddin must be added a small fraction on its way toward disappearing; they are the Kel Bardjen, of undetermined origin.

[674] Numbering some ten warriors, they are recognized as inveterate robbers, always encroaching on the nomadic territories of others.

[423] Bardjen is located between Tazerouk, Imerera, and Ideles. The territory of the Kel Bardjen was probably marked off about 1750 and

[212] defined by monoliths, some of which bear tifinagh characters.

The Ibettenaten. -- The Ibettenaten are not "Imrad," properly speaking. According to Benhazera, this tribe was formerly noble. They were probably subjugated by the Kel Rela following the murder of an Amacher /singular of Imochar, the aristocratic class. Ed./ committed by one of them. Since then, they pay the tioussé to the

[651] aménokal.

The Ibettenaten probably descended from Kel Afella Ifora on the maternal side and from Tidikelt Arabs on the paternal side.

631 About thirty tents are nomads in the Sudan near Bou Djbiha, but
162 they go up as far as Taoudart and In Ouzal in the Adrar des Iforas, following the pasture grounds. Fifteen other tents enfeoffed to the Kel Fadel camp in Air.

They number 160 persons, 62 of them men, in the 1938 census.

631 They are entirely herders, making very few caravans and owning
233 no cultivated lands. They have very fine pasture grounds at their disposal. They own about 800 camels, 1,000 sheep, and (a rare thing, but quite in keeping with their area of nomadization) nearly 100 cows.

631 They did not take part in the revolt of 1916-1918. But since
[69] they left the environs of Kidal in spite of the order which had been given them to remain there, they were overtaken and raided by the column of Captain Depommier in the outskirts of Tamaŭa.

565 The Iklan-en-Taousit. -- The Iklân-en-Tăousit, still called
644 Kel Koas, were probably former servants of the Imenân; /198/ they
631 made up the sultan's guard and were still dependent on his command at the end of the last century.

Their name means "servant of the tribe: " They are said to be
[184] of low birth, and unlike all the other Tuareg, they have no aversion
[241] to working the land. They contract alliances with the people of the Djanet oasis.

631 They are subdivided into Iklân Settafen and Iklân Mellen, and
[162] they include about 180 people, some 60 of them men.

[23] They own about 250 camels and 400 goats which are grazed in the Lower Ahaggar, in the Tăhaĭra, and in the region of Silet-Ăbalessa, as well as in the northeast of the Adrar near Tin Zaouaten.

Much interested in cultivation, they own gardens in the centers
[24] of Tigeneouin, Ăbalessa, and Tifert, as well as in the little palm
423 grove at Tibeghîn, beside Silet.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they did not do anything to speak of.

[648] Today they furnish a good part of our mounted troupe.

The Issekkemaren. -- The Issekkemaren, whose name is
563 synonymous with "mixed, " were probably from Arab fathers and
631 Tuareg mothers.

They are subdivided into the following eight tribes:

Iheiaouen Hâda
Kel In Rhar'
Kel Tăfedest
Kel Immîdir
Kel Tăzoûlet
Kel I-n-Toûnîn
Kel Téroûrirt
Kel Ouhet

[963] [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423] [241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795] [798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

[173] /200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head.

[241] [423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Déhine, and Abézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

[162] The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Aseksem, Amegid, and the Adrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tafedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tafedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Ihéiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Ihéiaouen Hada and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[164] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Arak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dag el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tazoulet region and near Tazerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness [132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tazerouk.

[669] They were in contact with the Ait Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 796] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

563 651 Every year they pay the aménokal three loads of dates and three young goats.

554 The Irréguénaten. -- The Irréguénaten, like the Issekkemâren, are assimilated vassals of a social rank superior to that of the Imrad.

They are of Tuareg mothers from the Ibettenâten tribe and Arab fathers from the Kounta tribe.

They are divided into two groups: 1) the Adrar Irréguénaten or Issettafénine Irréguénaten, who descended from a sherif of Gourara named Abdelmoumen, whose two sons Mouima and Inchelane married Ibettenâten women; 2) the Ahaggar Irréguénaten or Ihaggarénine Irréguénaten, who descended from the Dermachaka, an incorporated tribe of Kounta and Ibettenâten.

All of them nomadize in the northern Ădrar des Iforas and the Timétrine and even push as far as Erg Chech. They also visit the Ăhnet and Tămasna.

233 This is a very rich tribe engaged in raising camels. The Irréguénaten own more than 2, 300 camels, 350 cows, and more than 2, 350 goats and sheep.

162 In 1908 they numbered 50 to 60 men, according to Benhazéra. The 1938 census raises the figure to 358 persons, 100 of them fighters.

651 /202/ They pay the tioussé to the descendants of the Inemba and to the descendants of Si Mohamed ag Othman.

669 Although they associated with the Adrar Kounta, they maintained relations with the rebellious marabout Abidine, who took refuge among the Kel Ahnet. They probably even served him as spies, and the people of Ădrar des Iforas held them in suspicion for a long time.

28 462 Their camel raising is very well known, and their wives are quite expert in leatherwork.

602 There are also Irréguénaten in the Niger loop, but they have no bonds of kinship with the Ahaggar Irréguénaten.

back by the Berabers after a hard fight and forced to flee, most of the men, including Azioue1, died of thirst in the desert.

/204/ As a consequence of this raid, Sidi ag Kéradji, now old, was relieved of his command and replaced by Amri ag Sidi Mohamed.

The Tăitok had also suffered a bitter defeat in 1887 at the Inifel well, where the Mouadhi Chaamba had destroyed a raid coming to attack them. This series of failures reduced the tribe to some 40 men.

At the present time, the Tăitok still accept unwillingly the suzerainty of the aménokal, more nominal than effective, under which they have been placed. Altercations, often violent ones, still take place between them and the Kel Rela. They have taken refuge in the Sudan, in the In Gall -- In Abangarit region, and more and more tend to want to pass under the control of the Sudanese authorities in order to have no more to do with the Kel Rela and the aménokal of the Ahaggar.

Poor like all the Imochar, the Tăitok live at the expense of their numerous Imrad. In times past they also levied a due on the nomadic Arab camps between the Ahnet and Akabli, and on the Asoudji and the Ferguémoussen of the Ădrar des Ifôras, the Tégéhé-n-Ĕfis and Isoknâten of the Aïr.

Their group includes about 30 tents and possesses 300 to 400 camels and about 1,000 goats.

During the war of 1914-1918, Amri ag Sidi Mohamed, who at first had done all he could to please us, was one of the first to leave us for the camp of Kaocen, the chief of the revolt, led by his Imrad Kel I-n-Toûnîn. But it must be said in his behalf that he did not take arms against our troops. He was taken prisoner before Agadez by the Sudanese troops.

As a result of these events, he was relieved of his command, and it was given to Mohamed ag Mohamed, the present amrar.

Through their Imrad, the Tăitok possessed the palm grove of Silet which was taken away from them by General Laperrine to punish them for their rebellion and given to Moussa ag Amastân.

631 alliances give a glimpse of the scope of the Tăitok raids.
[648]

The tobol of the Tăitok includes the Irechchoûmen, a little noble tribe which lost its rights to the tobol as a consequence of misalliances, the Kel Ăhnet, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis, the Kel I-n-Toûnin, the Iouarouaren, the Ikouttissen, and the Ikechchemâden.

The Irechchoûmen. -- The Irechchoûmen, also called Iradjenaten (mixed blood), usually camp in the Ăhnet, going as high as Aoulef. The head of the family was Ibédi ag Bassi, who married a daughter of the Oulad Zenan (Aoulef Arabs) and had for sons-in-law Azioue1 and Tacha ag Serada of the Tăitok, both dead as a result of raids. (2)

2. Azioue1's widow married Moussa ag Amastân, aménokal of the Ahaggar, in 1910.

[582] They are allies of the Tăitok through numerous marriages, and also of the Imrad Kel Ăhnet. They also marry with /206/ Arab [643] women from the Touat, and these multiple misalliances have made them lose their right to the tobol.

[173] According to a tradition reported by Duveyrier, the Irechchoûmen originally came from Es Souq. Part of the tribe descends from the Edrissians, and others have the Ikadeien for their ancestors.

[162] They include only about ten tents, or 60 persons, at the present time.

The Kel Ăhnet. -- The Kel Ăhnet are of the same origin as the [173] Dag Râli with whom they formerly made up the Imessiliten fraction. This schism occurred under the aménokalat of Sidi ag Mohamed el Kheir, at the time of the distribution of the Imrad among the different noble tribes, and the Kel Ăhnet were bestowed upon the Tăitok.

They were among the first to come and surrender, and their chief, Badjeloud ag Maklia, came to In-Salah as early as 1902.

631 Taken away from the Ṭăitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land
131 over which they range includes all of the Ăḍrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immĭdir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issĕkkemăren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immĭdir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaṭa. They camp near the Ṭăitok in the Ăḍrar Tazerzaṭt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census,
[162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 721] Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the Ṭăitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ăḍrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 795] They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite, and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of
[669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

173 631 Let us add that the Kel Ăhnet claim to be of Beraber origin through Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hînân. But the Tăitok say that it is not known where they come from, except that they must have inhabited the Ahaggar long before the arrival of Ti-n-Hînân.

631 The Tégéhé-n-Éfis. -- The Tégéhé-n-Éfis are of the same origin as the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen.

They used to nomadize in Aïr and had to leave that country as a result of the murder of the sultan who wanted to force them to pay too heavy a tax. Efis was their chief, and it is he who decided to leave. The descendants of these families thenceforth bore his name.

They formed only a single tribe with the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé. When Mohamed el Kheir was aménokal, the Tégéhé-n-Elîmen came to ask protection from the Ihăggaren -- some say this was under Mohamed el Kheir's grandson, Younès.

During the war which put the Kel Rela and the Tăitok in conflict, the Tégéhé-n-Éfis took refuge on the Aïr borders. Afterwards, they returned for the most part, but some ten tents remained in the Sudan.

162 233 241 423 In 1905, they numbered about 30 tents; in the 1938 census there were 164 persons, 51 of them men. They own 80 camels, and 250 goats. They are the proprietors of cultivated lands at Tîgenouin, Amsel, Ăbalessa, and Tahart. They also see to the cultivation of gardens at Tamanrasset, which have belonged to the Imekkeresen (an Imrad tribe of the Ajjer Tassili) for a long time. By rights they should pay the latter a due, but it is never asked for.

They nomadize in the Tahaïra (southwest of Koudia) and migrate on the parallel Amsel, Tîgeneouin, Tâmaïa. The line of demarcation separating their area from /208/ that of the Ăgouh-en-Tĕhlé is formed by the Tamanrasset wadi.

They were bestowed upon the Tăitok at the time of the distribution of the Imrad, and they have followed their suzerains in all their affairs.

193 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn. -- The Kel I-n-Toûnîn are Issekkemâren. They were given to the Tăitok under Sidi's aménokalat (1755) when the Kel Rela tobol was split up, while the Kel Ouhet and the Kel Téroûrirt were given to the Tégéhé Mellet.

631 The Kel I-n-Toûnîn owe their name to the wadi near which they ordinarily nomadize in the Tăfedest massif. At the end of the last century they took advantage of the dissensions existing between the Tăitok and the Kel Rela as well as the internal strife of the [651] Tăitok to free themselves of the latter. They moved to the Ăjjer, claiming kinship with them, but they pay them no taxes.

After their surrender to the French, the Tăitok reclaimed them, and General Laperrine agreed to their demand.

[649] They took a big part in the rebellion of 1916 and were the first to rise up, for they were under the direct influence of the Ăjjer.

Taking refuge in Fezzan at first, they set about combating us by launching raids against the fractions under our influence. Later they participated in the combat of Aïn el Hadjadj. Then they went to the Sudan, where they succeeded in taking with them a number of Tăitok, their Chief Amri among them, in spite of the efforts Moussa ag Ămastân made to keep them.

• [162] They number about 20 tents which camp in the north of the Tăfedest massif and go up as high as the Ădrar Ifetessen on the foothills of Immîdir.

[582] They are allied to the Tégéhé Mellet by recent marriages.

Famous as good herders, they own about 100 camels and 300 [233 439] goats. They are also good caravaneers who trade on the markets of In Salah, Ghat, and Ghadames.

[241] They have a few gardens cultivated at Ideles and in the Tassili centers of cultivation.

[162] The Iouarouaren. -- The Iouarouaren form a little tribe of about 15 tents, which nomadizes with the Kel Ăhnet in the Adrar.

Some say they are natives of Aïr, others say of the Ăjjer.

173 /210/ When an Ăjjer (or Ifôras) woman had been taken prisoner by the Aïr people, according to Sidi ag Kéradji, it was Ămastân 631 ag Ourzig, maternal uncle of Sidi, who paid her ransom and married her to a Kel Ăhnet; from this union sprang the Iouarouaren. (1)

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[173] 1. Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar, p. 177.

[582] They often camp near the Dag Râli, and unions between the two tribes are not uncommon.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they followed the Taitok in their peregrinations.

[423] They were the owners of the little palm grove of Tibéghin, near Silet, but it was taken from them after these events and given [239] to Moussa ag Amastan. They possess some 50 camels and about 100 goats. The tioussé paid to the amrar of the Taitok consists of a [65] bag of dates or sorghum, a 10 kilogram pot of butter, and half of the loot in the case of a successful raid.

The Ikechchemaden. -- The Ikechchemaden live mixed in with the Dag Râli and are often included among them, although they belong to the Taitok tobol.

[192] Their name means "the very ugly ones," from the Tamashek akechchemdh, referring to an ugly and ill-clad man.

In 1907 they asked to be put under the command of Moussa ag Amastân.

[162] They are a small tribe of no more than 15 men.

[423] They partly owned the Silet oasis which was taken from them in 1916, but they still have the usufruct of their palm trees because of their dealings with the Dag Râli.

We have no precise data on their origin, and it is probable that they will be rapidly integrated with the Dag Râli.

[162] The Ikouttisen. -- The Ikouttisen, numbering about 70 men, are nomads in the region of the Tassili des Ajjer. They get their name from one of their women ancestors named Takottis.

According to the information of Benhazéra, the people of this tribe never go out raiding. He does not explain the reasons, which may be of a religious nature.

[162] The Ikadeien. -- The Ikadeïen form a little tribe of some 15 tents, whose camp lies near Tit and Tigeneouin.

619 Kel-I-n-Tounîn Imrad rather than accept the supremacy of Moussa
648 ag Amastân and the Kel Rela. For a long time they kept up the agitation, encouraged by the former Aménokal Attici ag Amellal, and they were one of the causes of our difficulties with the Ajjer.

619 It is now a small tribe of about 15 tents nomadizing near
[162] Amegid, the Ounane, the Eguéré, and /212/ Tiramar. Its strength comes especially from its vassals, who could not be more turbulent.
[669] They probably participated in the massacre of the Flatters mission, and Attici and Anaba ag Amellal, the leaders of the drama, belonged to that fraction.

The Tégéhé-Mellet have no Imrad properly speaking, but several Issekkemâren fractions are enfeoffed to them.

The Kel Terourirt. -- The Kel Terourirt are Issekkemâren and nomadize northeast of the Ahaggar near Tiramar, Tahihaout,
[162] Ounane, the Eguéré, and the Garet ed Djenoun. They number 25 tents at the moment:

[669] During the 1916 events, they followed the Kel Ouhet and the Kel I-n-Tounîn in rebelling.

[651] They pay the amrar of the Tégéhé Mellet a tioussé which annually adds up to four bags of dates and four goats.

The Kel Ouhet. -- Like the Kel Térourirt, the Kel Ouhet are Issekkemâren. They are subdivided into several small fractions: the
[162] Kel Raris, the Dag-Khamaya, and the Dag Iknân. In all there are about 40 tents (51 persons in the 1938 census, 23 of them men).

They camp in the northern part of the Tafedest massif and go as far as Amegid and into the Igharghar Valley.

[233] They own a number of camels and frequently visit the markets
[439] of the Tidikelt and Ghat.

Some of them have left the Ahaggar and now live in the Ajjer.

The Kel Torha. -- The Kel Torha, or Dag Houa, are Aït Loaien and their small fraction is in the process of disappearing. Although
[651] they live with the Aït Loaien who belong to the Kel Rela tobol, they pay the annual tioussé of a mézoued of dates to the Tégéhé-Mellet.

forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."

At the present time these three fractions number about 150 people.

We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

the proportion of one to four. After several dry years some agricultural centers must be completely abandoned. This was the case of Tit, Attoklane, Tahart, Dar-Mouli, etc., in the last few years.

In 1940, 555 hectares of land were seeded. This is the figure for a good year, which can occasionally be surpassed but can also be reduced by more than half.

The population of the agricultural centers, which was 1, 310 people in 1916, was 2, 280 in 1938, which denotes a great effort made in favor of agriculture. This could be realized thanks only to the state of peace due to the French occupation.

Here are the figures for each of the principal centers, according to the archives of the Tamanrasset post (1):

1. Florimond report, 1938.

	1911	1938	
Tamanrasset	150	686	
Abalessa	272	250	
I-n-Amgel	180	206	
Iglen		168	
Ideles	70	160	
Tazerouk	150	148	
Tit	75	98	had to leave for other centers after the summer of 1938.
Tarhaouhaout	140	91	
Amsel	90	66	
Tahifet		39	
Tigeneouin	25	23	
Mertoutek		60	
Hirhafok		80	
Iaman	10		

	1911	1938
T-i-n-Ẍmenser	36	temporarily abandoned
Tifert	50	" " "
Esséléséḱin	30	
T-i-n-Târàbin	15	abandoned

These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ẍbalessa, Iglen, Tẍfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Esséléséḱin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one-fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tẍrhaouahout, Tahifet, Tẍzerouk, Ideles, Ẍbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ẍmenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esseléséḱine.

In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Aẍtoklane, Ẍdenek, Ẍmrah, Ẍbezou, Ẍglil, Bloûmet, Déḥine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ẍmertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

101 country just to the West of Agadès (Lhote,
166 1955, p. 217). These movements were but the
131 latest major episodes in a general southwest-
ward drift of which we have evidence going back at least as far as the 8th century (Rodd, 1926, p. 376) when the weight of the great Arab invasions first began to be felt.

631 The military administrative unit known as the *Annexe du Hoggar* covers roughly the territory that lies between Amguid and In Guezzam, and Djanet and Ouallen, and corresponds fairly closely to the present normal range of
[101] the Ahaggar Tuareg. This area is about the size of New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland put together (146,300 square miles, with nearly 31,000,000 inhabit-
[161] ants in 1950), and supports a total native population of probably about 12,000, roughly the same as that of Athol or Swampscott, Massachusetts, or Gainesville, Georgia. Cambridge, Massachusetts, has more than ten times as many permanent residents. Twice as many people work in the Pentagon Building alone as live in the entire Ahaggar.

●162 Accurate population figures for nomadic peoples are always very hard to obtain, and in the Ahaggar it is practically impossible to arrive at anything better than very rough approximations. We are probably safe in assuming, however, that there are about 4,400 Tuareg and 4,000 Negro slaves in the area, plus some 3,500 sedentary Haratin, a few small families of smiths, and a very small handful of Arab shopkeepers from the Northwest who have settled in the largest sedentary centers.

197 The Tuareg speak Tamaheq, which is a form of Senhadjan Berber.

619 **Social Organization.** The Tuareg are divided into confederations as we have seen, and these
565 are divided into tribes which are subdivided into clans and the latter into fractions. The nomadic population is divided socially into

[534] [8] A hemispherical drum made of half a big gourd with a skin stretched over the opening.

551 [9] Tuareg tribal and personal names are spelled in
104 as many different ways as are the geographical names of the Sahara. The most common variations are found in the alternative use of *dj* and *g* (or *gu*), *sh* (or *ch*) and *h*, and *gh* (or *r'*) and *r*, all of which sometimes reflect local differences in pronunciation and sometimes the personal preferences of various transliterators.

622 [10] A chief may be succeeded by his younger brother, as the Amenokal Younès was succeeded by Guémama (commonly written *ag Mama*) in 1820 or

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25

Political Systems Of Pastoral Tuareg In Air And Ahaggar.

By JOHANNES NICOLAISEN

The Tuareg are Berber-speaking, nomadic stock-breeders who live in an extensive area of the Western Sahara and adjacent regions of the Sudan. The territory dominated by the Tuareg lies between 14° and 30° North Latitude and between 5° West Longitude and 10° East Longitude. They fall into seven main groups or major political units (fig. 1) comprising 240,000–300,000 individuals, their negro slaves excluded. The two northernmost groups (the Kel Ahaggar and the Kel Ajjer) live in the true desert country and number less than 10,000 or about 3% of all Tuareg. In Ahaggar the number according to statistics of 1950 is 4,611. The Air Tuareg further south are more numerous and seem to comprise more than 20.000 individuals (cf. Lhote 1947, p. 15f. & 1955, p. 157).

This study of Tuareg political systems has as its foundation a part of my own field material collected in 1951 (in Ahaggar), 1952 (in Tassili-n-Ajjer), 1953 (in Ahaggar), and 1954–55 (in Ahaggar including Ahnet, and in Air). I have spent about two years in these Tuareg countries living most of the time in Ahaggar and adjacent regions, while my stay further south in Air was limited to six months.

It is my intention here to describe the political systems of Air and Ahaggar, but as my final task is concerned with their origin I find it necessary to take up also more general aspects of Tuareg culture and the distribution of certain cultural traits. I shall make use also of Tuareg oral traditions and of the very comprehensive material on Tuareg history gathered by Arab historians and geographers of the Middle Ages. Thus I do not follow the ordinary lines of any particular anthropological school.

I am much indebted to Dr. Birket-Smith (University of Copenhagen) from whom I acquired my general anthropological knowledge together with a keen interest in historical problems, and to Professor Daryll Forde and Dr. Phyllis Kaberry of the London University where I have learnt what I know about social anthropology. Dr. Phyllis Kaberry has taken a profound interest in my studies, and I feel grateful for her kind help and assistance in all matters concerning Tuareg political systems and Tuareg social structure in general.

My journeys among the Tuareg were carried out by means of grants from various Danish foundations, notably Statens Almindelige Videnskabsfond, Carlsberg Fondet, Knud Rasmussen Fondet, and Jens Lohmand Rasmussens Rejselegat. During my last journey The University College London assigned me a grant without which I should not have been able to gather the material here presented

(P. 67)

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

p. 828), and so it has been right up to modern times. Many Sultans have had only very short periods of reign.

Although the Sultan had but little real power he had a high prestige and was very rich. He had the right to dues from goods passing through Agadez, as mentioned already by Leo (Leo Africanus III, p. 828f.), and he was also entitled to dues from the Bilma salt trade. But the Sultan had under his direct command only the negroid populations of Agadez and the villages of In Gall and Teguidda-n-Tecem. The people of Agadez, said to be members of the religious *Ineslemen* class, have never paid any tribute to the Sultan, whereas he received annual payments from the two villages mentioned. All other people of Air apparently had no fixed economic obligations to the Sultan.

The Sultan had the direct jurisdiction over the negroes under his command. He was the arbitrator and supreme judge in disagreements between the different Tuareg groups to be mentioned below. But he could not meddle in their internal affairs, and rarely was so influential that he could stop the frequent quarrels.

As we have seen the dominant Tuareg group at the establishment of the Sultanry was the Itesen most of whom left the massif long before the arrival of the French. We have also seen that the Kel Geres owing to wars with the Kel Ooui in the 18th century went southwards to the Nigerian borderlands where they became politically independent. In the 19th century the important political groups of the Air Sultanry were the following:–

The Kel Ooui occupying the eastern and most mountaineous parts of the massif. According to figures given by Nicolas for clans and villages of the Kel Ooui (Nicolas 1950b, p. 465ff.) their total number seems now to be about 8000.

The Kel Tamat including the Ikaskazan. The group judged by the figures for some of the clans (Nicolas 1950b, p. 471f.) has about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the Kel Ooui. Contrary to the two following groups they were placed under the authority of the supreme Kel Ooui chief, the *Anastafidet*.

The Kel Fadei in the region of In Gall. Their total number according to Nicolas is 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The Kel Ferouan comprising clans in the western parts of the massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the massif towards Damergou. They number about 5000.

The Kel Ooui group was for periods of the past very important politically. But its political system apparently differed from that of other Tuareg groups which may be explained by the fact that a large number of them were settled agriculturists. The other Tuareg groups mentioned, on the contrary, were made up exclusively of pastoralists who roamed in the lower parts of the massif and the adjacent plains. In these groups there were two important classes which seem to have been of little importance among the Kel Ooui. The two classes in literature are known as "noble Tuareg" (*Imacheren* sing. *Amachey*) and "vassal Tuareg" (*Imrad*, sing. *Amrid*). The vassal class in all groups was more numerous than that

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Clans of the Kel Ferouan Drum-Group

(Clans which are not separated by horizontal lines are said to be related to each other. – The two former clans of the list are the only true noble clans of the group).

Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)		Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Ferouan (Iraouattan)	350	58	There are to-day very few Tuareg of these two noble clans, and it is said that even in the past they were very few.	Teloua (western part)
Kel Azel	180	47		Aniegen
Ijakarkaren	203	41	Attached to the Kel Azel. Close to the camp of the the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Tafadek
Igendianen	247	55		Borhal
Ikhabban?				
Iberdianen (2 clans)	621	97	Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants,	Goufat Tesouendegit Eknaouen
Irolsouren			Living close to the noble Kel Ferouan as servants.	
Imezzouren	162	31	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tirraeren
Ikaoukan	150		Attached to the Kel Azel.	
Iforas (2 clans)	396	95	Attached to the Kel Azel.	Tedein
Ikochechlien			A section of the Immezzilalen. Attached to the Kel Azel.	Afarak
Imezzoureg	106	20		Terazet
Idaleyen	218	67		Telhechame
Ait Oren	160			Maramaro
Immezzilalen		27		Teloua (eastern part) Asa
Kel Tesemt	237			Teloua (eastern part) Asa
Ifoghar	42	12		

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

Clans	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Ifadeyen (2 clans)			Kourouloho Imechamchouan Gorouf
Igetoſen			Bouzaho Tin-Daouine Amalen Abelemma Ekaouel
Iraouelen			Tombalaga Akadanet Meigaouen
Elbaraten			Ououachor
Itagan			Eheleg
Isakaranen	653 107		Tin-Tebezgin
Kel Tedale (3 clans)	1900	They may be noble by origin.	Talak Ouararene Zounika
Kel Akarra	164 39	Said to be of noble origin and to have had the Ibararochiten clan as their particular vassals.	Tin-Teborak
Ibararochchiten		Said to have been the particular vassals of the Kel Akarra clan.	Emdegra

grounds round Agadez in the 17th century, and were probably called to this region by a Sultan who needed them to keep order in the country. The actual power then passed into the hands of the Kel Feruan drum-chief.

The Kel Feruan Tuareg.

Lists of clans which belong to the Kel Feruan drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen clans in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926*a*, p. 427f. – Abadie 1927, p. 391f.), while Nicolas refers twenty-two clans to the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas but contains a few additional names which however may refer to sections of the other clans. In my list I have indicated the relationship between the clans and their traditional grazing grounds. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of clans, and I therefore quote the figures

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 633 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 230.

A clan is generally termed *tassit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 13). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(tarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

Mother's brother's daughter	7
Father's sister's daughter	4
Classificatory cross-cousins	6
Other kinswomen	13
No blood-relationship between husband and wife	8
Marriages total	38

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Federation of Ahaggar Tuareg

(Size of clans according to Lhote 1955, p. 225ff. from statistics of 1949)

	Noble Clans	Vassal Clans	Iesḳḳemaren Clans
The Kel Rela Drum-Group	*Kel Rela* 275 To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble clans, with the Ifoḍas group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal clans. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The Kel Rela women, like noble women of the Oraṛen (Tassili-n-Ajjer) and Kel Ferouan (Air), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	*Dag Rali* 386 *Ait Loaien* 400 *Agouh-en-Tahala* 585 *Relaiddin* 40 *Iklan-en-Taousit* 500 *Ibettenaten* 129 *Iregenaten* 435 These two clans are not true vassals by origin. The Ibettenaten is said formerly to have had noble status and the Iregenaten descend matrilineally from the Ibettenaten, patrilineally from Arabs.	*Ihaisoun Hada* 253 *Kel Infar* 176 *Kel Tafedest* 61 *Kel Immidir* 179 *Kel Tazoulet* 158 The Iesḳḳemaren clans descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble Kel Ehan Mellen clan. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the Ouled Ba Hamou, claims that they were originally their vassals.
The Taitoḳ Drum-Group	*Taitoḳ* 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure Taitoḳ stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief Mohamed ag Mohamed who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the Taitoḳ drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The Taitoḳ and their vassals will frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	*Kel Ahnet* 127 *Iouarouaren* 47 *Tegehe-n-Efis* 127 *Ikoutisen* 84 *Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the Dag Rali clan of the Kel Rela drum-group). *Iyechchoumen* – a clan patrilineally related to the noble Taitoḳ, matrilineally to the vassal clan of Kel Ahnet. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	*Kel I-n-Tounin* (about 20 tents in 1938).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

162 565 614 631

	Noble Clans		Vassal Clans	Iseḳḳemaren Clans	
The Teǧehe-Mellet Drum-Group	*Teǧehe Mellet*	33	*Kel Torha* (part of the Ait Lamira clan of the Kel Rela drum-group).	*Kel Tarount* *Kel Oublet*	69 70
Noble Clans Without Vassals	*Kel Ehan Mellen*		The Iseḳḳemaren clans are said formerly to have been vassals of this clan.		
	Ikadeien		Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.		

The Kel Rela Drum-Group in Ahaggar.

[161] 565 614 The Ahaggar Tuareg according to statistics from 1950 number 4,611 individuals (Lhote 1955, p. 157) and comprise 26 clans. In addition to the noble class termed *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*), and the vassal class termed *Imrad*, (sing. *Amrid*) or *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), there is also a class termed *Iseḳḳemaren* (sing. *Aseḳkemar*), who can be considered vassals of a somewhat different status. The religious class *Ineslemen* (sing. *Anesiem*) is in Ahaggar represented by a few families without clan organization.

614 565 634 There are five noble clans but only three of them have vassals. There are in other words three drum-groups *(eṭṭebel*, pl. *eṭṭebelen)*, namely those of Kel Rela, Taitoḳ, and Teǧehe Mellet. The Kel Rela group is by far the most important, and its chief with the title of Amenokal is the supreme head of all three groups which 643 constitute a sort of federation named *teǧehe*. In rare cases when the Tuareg of Ahaggar joined forces against foreign Tuareg groups, e.g. the Tuareg of Tassili-n- [701] Ajjer, the Amenokal was the war-leader of all three drum-groups. But in the past he had often little authority over the two other drum-groups For long periods of the 19th century he had severe troubles with the Taitoḳ, who had acquired a practically independent position, and it seems as if he had no rights over the land inhabited by the Taitoḳ drum-group. The Amenokal as well as the two other drum-chiefs *(Amṛar*, pl. *Imṛaren)* were elected by the vassals of their respective [565] drum-groups. It is true that the members of the noble clan had a certain influence, [614] but – contrary to former opinions on the matter – they did not have any direct voice in elections. The Amenokal was and is ceremoniously installed by a Tuareg of the Iseḳḳemaren class who provides him with a new veil or turban. The two other 634 drum-chiefs should be installed in this way by the Amenokal, who also undertook the installation of all vassal chiefs within his own drum-group. The installment of vassal chiefs within the two other drum-groups were undertaken by their respective drum-chiefs. In the present chapter I shall describe the drum-group of the Kel Rela in some detail.

[Text continues on p. 104]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

The Ahaggar Tuareg cannot generally trace the exact genealogical relationship between all members of a clan termed *taousit* as it is in Air. The noble Kel Rela (275 individuals) claim descent from a common ancestress named Kella, who lived seven generations ago. The Dag Rali (386), one of the vassal clans, seems to consist of two matrilineages of seven generations each. The two matrilineages are said to be related to each other, but their exact relationship is unknown. The very numerous vassal clan Agouh-en-Tehele (585) falls into three sub-clans claiming common matrilineal descent. One of these sub-clans, the Isandan, is identical with a matrilineage of six generations, whereto is grafted a smaller matrilineage of four generations related to the Ibettenaten clan.

Briggs has recently stated that previous authors have attached too much importance to Tuareg matriarchy (Briggs 1958, p. 87), and I agree with his statement. The fact that the Tuareg in important cases acknowledge the matrilineal principle has veiled the other fact that they have patrilineal rules, which are probably genuine to Tuareg social structure. But it must be admitted that influence from Islam and the Arabs makes the study of traditional social structure difficult.

The Tuareg of Ahaggar – like those of Air – have terms which in meaning are identical with matrilineage (*tesa* = "the stomach") and patrilineage (*arouri* = "the back"). They follow the matrilineal principle in specific cases, the patrilineal in others, while for rules of residence both principles are acknowledged as will be described below. Traditionally the matrilineal principle is valid for:– 1) succession to chieftainship, 2) succession to land rights, 3) succession to property considered indivisible, 4) in noble clans it is valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, and in vassal clans for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg.

Islamic rules are valid for inheritance of individually owned property. Children inherit what is left by their parents in such a way that a son gets a portion twice as big as that allotted to a daughter. A man cannot inherit the property individually owned by his mother's brother, whom he can succeed in the above mentioned respects, whereas he can inherit from more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The acknowledgement of the paternal line for inheritance is expressed in the general rule that any person adopts his father's camel-brand and earmarks for other domestic animals. This rule may be pre-Islamic. It may also be a pre-Islamic trait that most Tuareg have much better knowledge of their patrilineage than of their matrilineage.

Clans are predominantly endogamous, but there are marriages between people of different clans, and we can adequately use such unions to illustrate the rather complicated rule of residence:– A man will live together with his father in the territory of his clan as long as his father is alive, while after his father's death he will take up residence in the territory of his mother's clan, to which he himself belongs, and camp there together with his matrilineal kinsmen. A single death may in fact give rise to the change of territory and camp of a great many people, as is illustrated in fig. 10.

565/49 cont. / been the ruling caste for a long time? One is obliged to remark their true nobility, their refined politeness, and their never failing courtesy. They are more open than the imrads, often more intelligent, and some of them even possess a sense of humor. Beyh ag Akhamouk, the present amenokal, is a very representative personage and has fine qualities as a chief. The young Kel Rela turn more and more to the French, associate with them, become their friends. This attraction will become generalized little by little, that is, the esteem that these young people have for particular individuals will be extended to include France, which is only an abstraction for them.

[162] [563] The Kel Rela number slightly over 300 and possess about 350 black servants. Their tents are scattered over the whole of Ahaggar territory. The camp of the amenokal is never very far from Tamanrasset.

[162] Another noble tribe, the Tédjéhé Mellet, is not large; reduced to 32 individuals, it ordinarily sojourns in the Tefedest near the imrad tribes it possesses: the Kel Ohet and Kel Terrourrit. These nobles play practically no role in the Tuareg organization of the Ahaggar. The tribe's amrar is Khourou ag Salah.

Since our arrival in the Ahaggar, the Taïtok tribe has been exiled to the Sudan and has been dispossessed of its lands.

[162] There still remain, however, about 30 nomadic Taïtoks in the vicinity of Tamanrasset. Illou ag Amri is the amrar.

[162] Nearly 70 nobles from the Sudanese tribe of Iforas sojourn in Ahaggar territory. They are often allied with the Kel /50/ Rela. Among these Iforas are a few who belong to the marabout Iforas of Temassinine.

The Imrads

According to legend, the Dag Rali are the descendants of Takamat, Tin Hinan's servant woman. The mountains of the

565 /50 cont./ Atakor and the Arechchoum are their pasture regions. It is a tribe of rich camel and goat raisers.

[162] [563] It is the most important imrad tribe under the Kel Rela; there are about 390, served by nearly 400 Negroes. The Dag Rali are stubborn mountaineers, a little narrow minded. They [147] are remarkably resistant to fatigue when they walk in their rough country. Let us also note their adaptation to the cold of December, January, and February; the camps are generally situated at an average altitude of 2,000 meters. The Tuareg [29] [132] are clothed in two cotton gandurahs and are quite often wrapped in a "dokali"; they bear cold which drops as low as -12° in the tent toward five in the morning.

The tribe's amrar is Akroud ag Ama (1). The handsomest

1. Died in 1952.

tents belong to the Dag Rali, and the men are renowned as hunters of wild sheep.

[651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is about 12 mezoued /leather grain sacks/ of dates, eight bottas /bottles/ of butter, the loan of 12 ewes for milk, and ten goats for slaughtering.

Several subgroups may be seen within the Dag Rali, named mainly according to the regions they inhabit: Kel Arechchoumi, /sic/ and the Ikhechemaden, who formerly were imrads of the Taltoks.

[162] [563] The most numerous imrad tribe is the Adjouh n'Téhélé. It includes approximately 590 individuals and more than 750 Negro domestics. Although imrads, the Adjouh n'Téhélé are regarded as different by the nobles. Toward the eighteenth century, this tribe, which was living in the Aïr at the time, came of its own accord to incorporate itself into the Kel Ahaggar. This was done to escape the exactions /51/ of the sultan of Agadez, who each year demanded a virgin as a sign of vassalage. This tribe's territory of nomadization extends to the east and south of those of the Dag Rali.

565 621 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarh Ouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Rela'dine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

565 /51 cont./ The Iklan Taoussit are /52/ the Tuareg who consume the most afazzou seeds (Panicum turgidum).

There are very few Tédjéhé n'Néfis: 98 Tuareg and 120 Negroes. This tribe, like the preceding one, is imrad of the Kel Rela but formerly belonged to the Taïtoks. The Tédjéhé n'Néfis are related to the Adjouh n'Téhélé and like them were originally from the Aïr. Their camps are generally in the Tamanrasset wadi, downstream from the village, mostly near the gardens of Tidjenouine. The chief of the tribe is Ad Noumen ag Khadida.

The Ibotenaten tribe, comprising 128 individuals served by 153 Blacks, is enfeoffed to the Kel Rela without being truly imrad. It is said that an Ibotenaten once killed a noble Ahaggar. The tribe was beaten by the Kel Rela and condemned to pay a tribute.

The Ibotenaten are rich camel raisers. They live permanently in the Tamesna, benefitting from the annual rains which make this region fertile. Ould Brika is the tribe's amrar.

The Irreguenaten number 434 and have 600 Negroes. Normally they reside in the Tamesna, but they nomadize toward the Iforas and even the Timétrine region. Their name means "mixture of Arabs and Tuareg." They are allies of the Ibotenaten. Rich camel raisers, the members of this tribe are essentially nomads; they possess no agricultural center. They are the best guides to the Tassili n'Ahaggar.

The name Issakamaren designates a group of tribes of Arabic origin which were raided in the Touat and the Tidikelt about the eighteenth century by the Kel Ahaggar. The Issakamaren speak Arabic and Tamashek, but their customs have become those of the Tuareg. They are incorporated in the Tuareg confederation and are treated as imrads, although with a slight nuance of inferiority in the caste system. Their pasture regions are situated on the periphery of the central massif.

The Kel in Khar tribe includes 176 individuals and 50 Negroes. /53/ They are nomads in the eastern part of the Tefedest and trade in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

565 /53 cont./ The Mertoutek center belongs to them, and they possess gardens at Dehine and Abezzou.

[651] The tioussé is set at one young camel and a mezoued of dates. The chief of the tribe is Ikharis ag Akcham. They are rich camel raisers and are excellent guides to the Tefedest and the Amadror.

[162 563] The Kel Amguid number about 88 and possess 9 Blacks. They are related to other subgroups of the Issakamaren. They range over the region of Amguid, the Igharghar, and the Tefedest.

[651] The Kel Amguid have gardens at Adenek, Mertoutek, and Ideles. They pay a tioussé of four mezoued of dates, an assaber /mat for the tents/, and a young camel. Kelli ag Khabouba is the chief of the tribe.

[162 563] Imrads of the Kel Rela, the Kel Tazolé number 60 Tuareg and 60 Negroes. They possess an important camel herd and nomadize in the region of Tazerouk, chiefly to the east of that center.

The chief of the tribe is El Mamoun ag el Hadj Baba. Tazerouk is their center, and the small neighboring centers belong to them. Their tioussé is three mezoued of dates, [651] three lambs, and a four-year-old camel.

The Kel Tazolé conduct caravans in the directions of Ghat and the Tidikelt. They exchange millet in Aïr.

[162 563] The Eouen n'Hada number 241 individuals and 90 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tefedest, the Ifetessen, and sometimes in the Selbourak wadi. Tadjemout is their agricultural [651] center. They pay the amenokal a tioussé of three mezoued of grain, a young camel, and a rug.

The Eouen n'Hada, whose amrar is Nassamou ag Elias, are guides for the Immidir.

[162 563] The Kel Immidir are around 170 individuals; they have 45 black servants. This tribe nomadizes particularly in the tassili, region of Arak, the Ifetessen, and the Rharis.

[651] They own the palms at Tadjemout and the Djoraf. This tioussé amounts to six mezoued of dates and a rug. The amrar

565 /54/ is Sidi Rali ag el Hadj Mohamed. The Kel Immidir are caravaneers going toward Ghat and the Tidikelt.

The Kel Tefedest tribe is poor: for 61 Tuareg, it has only 11 Negroes. Allied to the Kel Tazolé and the Kel Immidir, it nomadizes in the Tefedest and the Immidir. The Kel Tefedest formerly possessed gardens in an abandoned center near In-Amguel (Adjelil). Their tioussé is four mezoued of dates and a young camel. The amrar of the tribe is Ikkan ag Magamed.

[162 563] [651]

The Ikoutessen are very poor and few in number: 85 individuals and 20 Negroes. Lamari ag Moudi is the tribe's amrar. They were paying a tioussé of two mezoued of dates, a guerba /waterskin/, and an empty mezoued. The Ikoutessen ordinarily sojourn in the Amguid region; they travel to the Sudan and the Tidikelt.

[162 563] [651]

Formerly belonging to the Taïtoks, the Kel In Tounine now are under the Kel Rela. They are not numerous and live in the Igharghar region. The Kel In Tounine possess gardens in the Ajjers. They paid the Taïtoks, very irregularly, a tioussé of six mezoued of dates and two sheep. They are guides for going in the direction of the Ajjers.

[651]

The Kel Ahnet, former imrads of the Taïtoks, at present belong to the Kel Rela. This is a poor tribe of 125 Tuareg and 10 Negroes. They are nomads in the Ahnet, the Acedjerad, and the Adrar des Iforas. They are excellent guides for the Tanezrouft. They possess gardens at Abalessa, Tahart, Tit, and Tibeghim, and palm trees in the Ahnet.

[162 563]

The amrar is Daniel ag Chikkat. The Kel Ahnet trade between the Tidikelt and the Iforas.

The Iouarouaren tribe is composed of only 47 individuals and have no Negroes. It nomadizes in the Acedjerad but resides mainly in the Tin-Zaouaten region. Its chief is Bahman ag Beuh. The Iouarouaren possess palm trees at Tibeghim; they have the reputation of being excellent hunters of addax antelopes. They formerly paid the Taïtoks a tioussé of a mezoued of bechena /millet/ and two bottas of butter. They are guides for the Tanezrouft.

[162] [651]

565 /55/ An imrad tribe of the Tédjéhé Mellet, the Kel Ohet
[162 563] includes 80 Tuareg and 20 Negroes. It is allied to the Kel In Tounine and has many dealings with the Ajjers. The tribe's amrar is Habib ag Ouhaggarène. Its members nomadize in the eastern Tefedest and own gardens at Ohet and Dehine. The
[65] tioussé formerly was four mezoued of dates, rope, and guerbas.

The Kel Terrourrirt are imrads of the Tédjéhé Mellet.
[162 563] Their tribe is not numerous: 62 Tuareg and six Negroes. They are very poor. They camp in the Amguid region and in the Tassili des Adjjer and possess several gardens at In-Amguel.
[65] The amrar is Hadj Mohamed ag Salah. They were paying four mezoued of dates, four sheep, rope, and guerbas. They trade with the Tidikelt.

The Ibardjien are not Issakamaren. They are imrads of the
[162] Kel Rela. It is a tribe destined to die out; there are only 24 left. They reside in the Tazrouk and Ideles region. They were remarkable hunters of wild sheep and had dogs trained for this practice.

The presence in the Ahaggar of former soldiers, most of them Chaamba, must be noted. They marry Tuareg women, found families, and raise their children in the Tuareg customs. They are fairly numerous in the Tin-Zaouaten region.

The Maalmines. Inaden

565 463 Within Tuareg society are found artisans called "maalmines" in Arabic, but whose Tamashek name is "inaden." The masculine singular is "inade;" plural, "inaden." The feminine singular is "tinat;" plural, "tinadin."

The maalmines make up a tribe whose members almost always marry among themselves. They are related to the maalmines of the Iforas and of the Aïr. Although very black skinned, they do not have negroid characteristics. The origin
[174] of the maalmines is as obscure as that of the Tuareg tribes; some think /56/ they are Jews who were captured by the Tuareg

565 /56 cont./ and who over a period of time have adopted
463 Tuareg ways (their specialization and their character lend
174 credence to this theory). Some maalmines say that they came to the Ahaggar in the time of the sultan Goma, having been separated from the Idenan tribe of which they were members. Others claim to have always belonged to the Tuareg confederation.

565 In the Ahaggar the maalmines include 17 men, about 20
463 women, and about 40 children. They have ten iklan.

[162] The men are many-sided craftsmen, often clever and fairly artistic; in view of the material they have to work with and the tools at their disposal, one may say that they are remarkable. The women work leather with skill and art. The maalmines are not grouped in tribes but form small families scattered in every corner of the Ahaggar. When a tribe, noble or imrad, needs some work done, it sends for a craftsman and provides him with animals for transporting himself and his equipment. He lives with the tribe during the time necessary for his task and is provided for by the tribe. When the work is done he is paid, according to how satisfactory it is considered, in goats, millet, milk, butter, even camels, but there is no fixed rate paid to the maalmines by the Tuareg. There is a different arrangement when they work for the harratin, who, not being so noble as the Tuareg, would not know how to reward good work with the proper generosity. They are therefore charged the following rate: for one new
[435] hoe (made from an old oil drum): five guessa /dishes/ of wheat or millet; for four rivets put in an old hoe, one guessa of grain; for a new axe the price used to be a goat or five guessa, but since the advent of the black market there is no accurate quotation.

435 For making jewelry, there is a special price fixed by
565 custom, even for the Tuareg; thus for bracelets and earrings
463 the Targui furnishes, for example, ten pieces of silver necessary for making two bracelets; the maalem keeps five

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which 241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are 621 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 164] "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children -- suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

Year 1948.	Yield of wheat for Tahart	1, 500 kilograms
	Yield of millet for Tahart	300 kilograms
		1, 800 kilograms

161 /108 cont./ cited above). The birth rate is not very high, but it is greater than the low death rate. Infant mortality is practically impossible to verify.

162 In 1948 there were 1, 028 men counted for 1, 202 women, which would seem tosupport the widespread opinion that relative to other peoples there are more men than women among the Tuareg. One must be careful, however, not to make this type of affirmation without having previously examined all the causes that may produce such a state of affairs. It is almost certain that the Tuareg control their birth rate. The chief of the tribe may forbid births or may recommend them according to the number of members of the tribe. This measure seems wise in a country which can scarcely support the existing population. The situation is such as it would be if the Tuareg had found, empirically, the ideal number of individuals able to be supported by their soil and were wise enough to try to maintain this number.

162 847

The men interrogated on this subject avoided the question, saying that this concerns their women and that they do not know the methods employed. The women are equally reticent, not to say mute.

/109/ Some of them claim to abort by drinking decoctions of plants. The French doctors know the qualities of these plants and think that this medication would be insufficient to produce the desired effect. By being patient, I was able to learn a method which, although dangerous, should be effective; I got this information from only one woman and have never been able to confirm it, as it is difficult to touch on these subjects directly. The women supposedly use a probe that they make from a "stone" called "azarif" ("cheb" in Arabic), which is of alum; they make this the size of a slate pencil. This probe dissolves after having produced a mechanical effect. It is likely that many women fall victim to these maneuvers, for in questioning the Tuareg one discovers a rather high female mortality rate at a relatively young age. Perhaps we may see

162 165 847

162 /109 cont./ here the cause of the greater proportion of men
165 to women.
847 The most widespread disease in the Ahaggar is undoubted-
164 ly malaria, most often contracted in Sudanese territory and spread in the Ahaggar, where anopheles are numerous in the agricultural centers and at all the permanent or temporary water points. Professor Rémy of the faculty at Nancy has found them in the Tarahouaout tiggert /outflow of water/, at the In-Ezzebib guelta /pool/; the doctor, Captain Galan, has collected them in the Afilal guelta at an altitude of nearly 2, 000 meters.

Pneumonia and its pulmonary complications wreak the most havoc among the Tuareg; this is due to the winter cold, which is ill borne in too thin clothes.

[131] In 1949 an epidemic of measles took on the aspect of a catastrophe through its pulmonary consequences.

Venereal diseases are very common among the harratin, rarer among the Tuareg.

A distressing disease of the agricultural centers is trachoma, aggravated by every type of conjunctivitis transmitted by the flies that swarm and cluster around the /110/ eyes of children. The Tuareg seem immune to diseases of the eyes; they rarely have trachoma.

Smallpox, once so common and so feared, has practically disappeared, thanks to systematic vaccination. It was an unusual event to see two Tuareg return from the Sudan in April, 1951 covered with smallpox eruptions.

Tuberculosis does not seem to have appeared; skin tests made at the Tamanrasset school are negative for children born in the Ahaggar. There seems to be no manifestation of cancer.

Although the Tuareg are abundantly provided with lice, above all in the winter, as are the harratin, a case of typhus has never been known. Typhoid is unknown, as are diphtheria, tetanus, and poliomyelitis.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

167 tion into Ayr many Tuareg of that region emigrated, and some of them settled as far away as Darfur
[649] where they and their descendants still live near El Fasher. Another emigration took place after the
Tuareg revolt against the French in 1917. Many Tuareg of the *Kel Ayr* and the *Iwllemmeden* fled to
162 Northern Nigeria to settle in villages and towns around Kano and Katsena. According to Rodd about
30.000 Ayr Tuareg fled to Nigeria after the revolt (Rodd 1926a, p. 361).

161 According to statistics for the period 1933–38 the total number of Tuareg living in the Algerian Sahara and to the south in the republics of Niger and Soudan is estimated by Lhote to be about 240.000.

162 They were divided among the main groups as follows:—

Kel Ahaggar	4.254
Kel Ajjer	1.508
Kel Adrar	4.223
Kel Ayr & Kel Geres	27.765
Iwllemmeden	161.160
Tengerregif	40.000

162 These figures need certain corrections. Thus the *Kel Ajjer* are more numerous than indicated by the
161 above figure, which does not include Tuareg of that group living in Libya. On the other hand the
[567] figure for *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg is much too high; it includes about 94.000 negroid slaves which should be deducted, as slaves are not included in the other figures. Nevertheless, Lhote believes that the actual number of free Tuareg is about 300.000 as the birth rate is on the increase. Thus statistics for 1950 indicate that there are 4.611 fairskinned Tuareg in Ahaggar (Lhote 1955a, p. 157). Nicolas assumes that there are about 500.000 Sudanese Tuareg (Nicolas 1950a, p. Avertissement). This figure is, no doubt, too high. If we assume that there are in all 300.000 Tuareg, we find that the two northern groups *Kel Ajjer & Kel Ahaggar* living in the true desert country constitute about three per cent of the total Tuareg population.*

197 The Tuareg language is known as *tamahaq* in the two northern groups, *tamacheq* in the south. It has four main branches or dialects, namely 1) *tahaggart* spoken by the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*; 2) *tadraq* spoken by the Tuareg of *Adrar-n-Foras*; 3) *tayri* spoken by the Ayr Tuareg and the *Kel Geres*; 4) *tawllemmet* spoken by the *Iwllemmeden* and other Sudanese Tuareg. Grammatically these four dialects are closely related, but there are important distinctions in pronunciation and vocabulary. The dialects are on the whole mutually intelligible.

212 The alphabet known as *tifinar* is known in all Tuareg groups. It is related to the ancient Libyan script. Several authors have stated that *tifinar* is not so widely known among the modern Tuareg as it was in the past. It is true that certain Northern Tuareg have adopted the Arabic alphabet, but it is very difficult even nowadays to find adult Tuareg who do not know their proper script which is also widely used for letters. This, anyway, is true of the Tuareg groups I have visited, and it must be added that I have never found any proof of the statement so frequently seen in literature that the alphabet is

* Considering the statistics for 1933–38 (240.000 + 94.000) the total number of true Tuareg in 1950 would appear to be lower than 300.000.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
[463] (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
[567] gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaɣen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the
[191] immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaɣen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less
[142] negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features.
[142] Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaɣen* (sing. *Azeggaɣ*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaɣen* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

[561] *Kel Ġanet* (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
[144] n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
[565] europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as
[567] Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Inṛden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ènèd*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only
[162] a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adraṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

tagayt, while the *Iwillemmeden Kel Dennek* at this period will camp around Ingal. Many Southern Tuareg leave the savannah country to avoid its heavy rainfalls and stock-diseases to let their animals benefit from the salty water and plants in the *Azawar* country.

In the country west of the Ayr Massif, the Tamesna Plains, there is in addition to the Ayr Tuareg a numerous population of Ahaggar Tuareg who live constantly in these regions. These plains are botanically different from the mountains. Perennial vegetation is scarce though there are some *tamat*-acacias (*Acacia flava*), but there is a very rich vegetation of annual plants of great importance to domestic animals. Among these plants can be mentioned *alwat* (*Schouwia purpurea* ssp. *Schimperi*), which is very valuable for camels and also good for sheep, *adreylal* (*Astragalus Vogelii*), and *tagellet* (*Colocynthis vulgaris*). The two latter plants are valuable as fodder for all domestic animals. It is noteworthy that these three species of annual plants last longer than other annual species. They do not wither at the beginning of the *rarat*-season, but remain fresh and green all through the winter until about *tabsit*.

It is evident that Tuareg knowledge of botany is extremely comprehensive, and that they use this knowledge to make stock-breeding as rational as possible. They may perhaps not be so rational in protecting pastures, for they cut acacias' boughs to feed the kids resting in the camps, and it is most possible that they also overgraze certain pastures. However, the grazing grounds are very vast in comparison with the number of pastoralists, and I believe that overgrazing and arboreal devastation take place mainly around villages and towns where the flocks of sedentary people graze continuously in the same area. In Ahaggar the valuable fodder plants and plants which are important for collecting are often protected for two or three months in order that they may become fully developed (cf. p. 150, 179).

The Tuareg take great care that their animals do not lack water. It is true that camels and also donkeys can do without water for many days even in summer, but at this season camels should preferably be watered every two or three days, and goats are always watered every two days when the weather is hot. In winter the animals are not watered so often, and this is true particularly if the animals feed on fresh annual plants. Camels can do without water even for weeks and months under such favourable

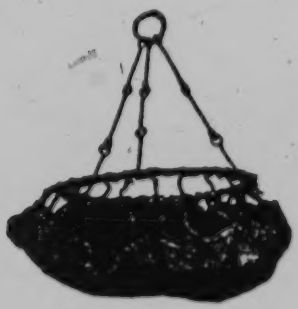

Fig. 97. The leather bucket known as *ejo* to the Northern Tuareg. The leather is tied to an iron ring made by blacksmiths. Collected in Aheggar by Olufsen. Dimension of the iron ring: 0.275 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 1.51).

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614 591 Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two [682] [672] tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

614 611 [428] [565] Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imesziliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tarhawhawt* sub-tribe.

614 505 631 423 Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amadal n Dag Rali*", "*amadal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have [643] particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). [162] Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory [578] of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

614 613 621 A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Rali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4–6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*éfeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Ḥarratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ġanet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ġanet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeġhin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Inenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemtéyen* (living at Ġat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Infer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Ḥarratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ġanet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanrasset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

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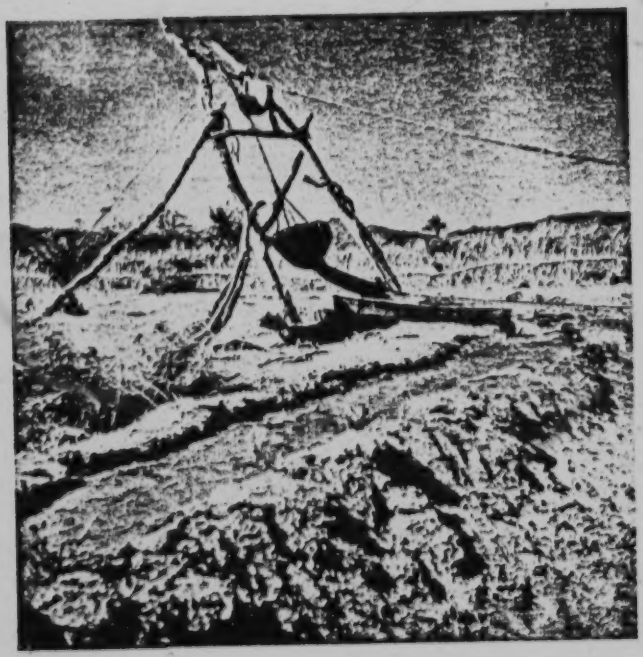

Fig. 132a. The irrigation system known as *tanut*. Ahaggar, Amsel.

settlements contain less than 300 individuals, the majority not even a hundred (cf. Lhote 1955a; p. 292). Most agricultural settlements comprise only a few houses built of stone or mud, or a few straw-huts (cf. p. 327 ff.). The agriculturists of these small settlements generally keep some goats and sheep, have donkeys, which are important beasts of burden to all farmers of the Sahara oases, and in certain families there are one or two zebus to raise water from irrigation wells. A few agriculturists may be characterized as semi-nomads. This is the case of some inhabitants of Abalessa who guard their flocks at some distance from the village. Some of these agriculturists, who were formerly Tuareg slaves, even make skin-tents like pastoral Tuareg.

The subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs of the Sahara as *foggara*, to the Tuareg as *ifelan* (sing. *éfeli*), constitute by far the most important irrigation system used in Ahaggar. However, these *foggara* canals cannot be compared with the large extensive aqueducts of Tidikelt though their introduction to Ahaggar is due to the immigration of agriculturists from that area. The Tidikelt *foggara* are very large aqueducts which are dug into water-bearing strata which can be situated at a considerable distance from the oasis (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 324 ff., Lô 1953 & 1954; Chaintron 1958). The Ahaggar foggara are generally very short (about one to two kilometres, or shorter), they are not

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466
475 obtain a larger amount of vegetable food products and more wheat and barley. The pastoral Tuareg
423 gain less from their gardens than they did when the *khamast* system prevailed, but it is still profitable
241 for them to be garden owners.
434

The quantity of agricultural products anually consumed per person among the *Kel Ahaggar* is
511 estimated by Lhote at 187 kilos millet, 15 kilos dates, and a small amount of wheat for which no
262 figure is given. For Arabs of the Sahara the quantity of vegetable food is estimated at 180 kilos wheat,
[171] and 75 kilos dates anually per person (Lhote 1955a, p. 263). I add to this that wheat is used for bread to a very large extent by the Ahaggar Tuareg, who also make much use of barley for bread and porridge. According to Malaurie the amount of agricultural food products available per person among the Ahaggar Tuareg is about 400 grammes a day, or 146 kilos anually (Malaurie 1953, p. 342). It should be noted again that the amount of agricultural food products necessary for a Tuareg household varies greatly from one year to the other. In years of drought when agricultural products form so to speak the only source of food for the nomads, they estimate that a household consisting of husband, wife, and one child will consume about two kilos of cereals (dates) every day, or 730 kilos in a year. Consequently the amount of cereals and dates consumed anually per person may in dry years rise to
[171] about 245 kilos. This seems to correspond to the amount of food considered necessary for Arabs of Tidikelt and Tawat, who live almost exclusively on cereals and dates. When employed as labourers by the French Administration these sedentary Arabs are given 16 kilos of wheat and 4 kilos of rice a month, or 240 kilos of agricultural products anually per person (Information obtained from the administration
511 office of In Salah in 1954). The agricultural products obtained by a pastoral household from a single
433 garden will not meet the needs of the household and its slaves even in years of good grazing, and less so in dry years when pastoralists subsist entirely on agricultural food products. I give an example: During the year 1954 55 which was extremely dry, a Tuareg who owned three gardens cultivated with an *aril* agreement could not feed his household and his slaves (comprising two men, two women, and three children from five to twelve years old) by means of his own garden products. The Ahaggar
[437] Tuareg depend on caravan trading for their provisions of agricultural food, and trading also helps them to create the capital of millet and dates which is invested in their gardens in Ahaggar grown on their behalf by agriculturists. I believe that most pastoral households of Ahaggar have gardens, but there are Tuareg who have none. This is true, for instance, of most Tuareg living in and around the Ahnet Massif. Tuareg of this region formerly had gardens irrigated by the *foggara* system at Abalessa, but to-day they acquire their vegetable food products mainly by caravan trading.

IRRIGATION AGRICULTURE IN AYR

563 The largest aggregation of sedentary people in Ayr is found in Agadez (4.737), which is inhabited al-
[341] most exclusively by negroid peoples who speak Hausa though most of them also know the Tuareg
162 language (*tamachek*). This large sedentary population mainly lives on trade and on crafts of
197 various kinds. The inhabitants are known to the Tuareg as the *Imeggedezen*. They are said to be related
[433] to the Sultan (or the *Amenukal*) of Agadez. There is a tradition which claims that the Sultan came
[173]

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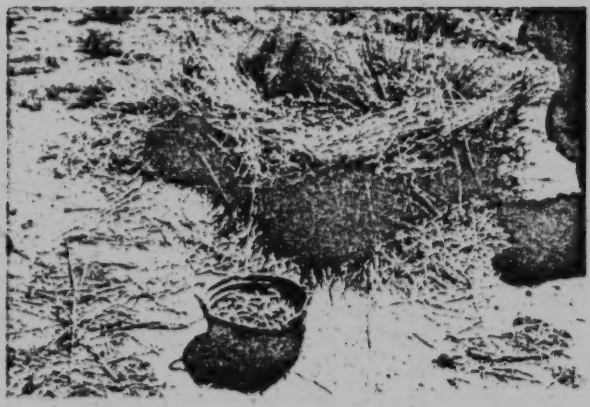

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*terenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agricultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857, I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Iseweren*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.

Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking population that subsisted on agriculture.

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tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appearance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṭawélen*. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *asefian* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*arelal*) to a large basin (*tisemi*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afarag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfenṛal*).

Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use. But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large, for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few households also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouaq at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwillemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Hammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

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177 Arab cultural traits have played a less important part in Ayr, where there are very few Arabs apart
162 from the merchants living at Agadez. The Arabs in Ayr, as in Ahaggar, have a certain religious prestige
182 but I have also heard Tuareg say that they did not like Arabs much because of their bad manners,
and mainly because the Arabs talk too much and lack the peculiar type of quiet reservation characteristic of so many Tuareg. It seems as if the French administrators of Ayr have been responsible for the introduction of certain Arab cultural traits, but they have not made Arabic an official language
191 of the administration. Apart from the marabuts there are very few Ayr Tuareg who have some
knowledge of Arabic. The French administration of Ayr, belonging to the former territory of French
167 West Africa, has led to the immigration of many Sudanese people of negroid type. Clerks and lower officials working in Agadez have mainly come from Dahomey.

175 The Arabs and Islam came to North Africa at a very early date. The first invasion of Arabs took
177 place in the 7th century A.D. and brought Islam and traits of Oriental town-dwelling civilization
173 into a narrow belt of North Africa along the Mediterranean. There is an Arab tradition according to which the first followers of Mohammed came to Central Sahara and to the Tuareg as early as the 7th century, but there is also a tradition among the Ahaggar Tuareg saying that Islam was introduced among them by a marabut of the Almoravids (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 347 f.). It is very possible that certain Tuareg groups of the extreme north were influenced by Islam and the Arabs after the first invasion, but more important was the second invasion of the 11th century when the Northern Sahara was occupied by Arab bedouins from Egypt and, ultimately, from Arabia. This so-called *Hilalian Invasion* comprised various large tribal groups:— (1) the *Beni Sulaim* (or *B. Soliman*) who settled in Egypt, Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and in the adjacent parts of Algerian Sahara where some of the present *Chambu* Arabs claim descent from this tribal group; (2) the *Beni Hilal* who settled further west in the Sahara south of Algerian and Moroccan Atlas; the important Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt claim descent from this Hilalian group; (3) the smaller tribal group named *Makil*; this followed the *Beni Hilal* but occupied grazing grounds further west in the desert country of Morocco.
175 These tribal groups largely influenced the Tuareg, and there seems to be little doubt that many Tuareg
648 pastoralists were driven southwards owing to the invasion of Arab nomads, who settled in Tripolitania and the Fezzan. But these Arab pastoralists could not everywhere defeat the pastoral Tuareg. In Ibn Khaldun's day the frontier dividing the Arab bedouins from pastoral Tuareg followed mainly the great belt of sand-hills running from east to west in the Northern Sahara. Now and then the Arabs carried out raids against the Tuareg, but Ibn Khaldun says that the Arab raiders were always attacked by the Tuareg and suffered severe losses (Ibn Khaldun I p. 191, II p. 104 f.). The penetration of Arab pastoral groups into the Central Sahara is outlined by Capot-Rey who states (1) that the Berber tribes inhabiting Tripolitania, Tunisia, and adjacent regions were quickly Arabized, (2) that the Western Tuareg of Mauritania were conquered more recently by the *Makil* Arabs, (3) that elsewhere in the Sahara the Tuareg were not only able to defend most of their territory, but also to assimilate certain Arab tribes (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 191 f.). This latter statement is correct. Contact between Arabs and Tuareg has also led to the adoption of Tuareg cultural traits by many Arab pastoralists, and even the very powerful Arab tribe, the *Ulad Ba Hammu* of Tidikelt, lived in pre-European times very much like the Tuareg in leather tents and dressed like the Tuareg. Various Arab tribes of the Sudan

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.).

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanrasset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Rali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Harratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tinǧar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Harratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type.

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

arch about 1.50 m high. It consisted of two boughs fixed in the ground and lashed together at their tops; this was termed *aɣeɣu* (pl. *iɣeɣan*). At both sides of this arch there was a horizontal cross-bar known as *areɣaraɣa* (pl. *ireɣeraɣaten*) which rested upon two forked sticks (*tégeffewt*, pl. *tigeffewin*). The arch and the two pairs of horizontal cross-bars were parallel to one another, connected by means of two semi-arches termed *ilellewan* (sing. *alellewa*) each of them made from two slender rods attached to each other over the arch. These semi-arches were fastened to the middle arch and to the outer edges of the two cross-bars by means of cords. Around this structure, which supported the sheet, there was a number of wooden poles or posts some of which were higher than the tent. These poles and posts were used for the attachment of the sheet, which, however, during my visit rested over the structure without any attachment. A narrow mat of the ordinary *afeẓu*-type belonged to this tent (Fig. 271).

Tents structurally akin to the B.2.a.2. type but without semi-arches in the longitudinal direction of the dwelling are found south and north of the Tamesna region:—

B.2.a.3. This tent was seen in a camp inhabited by blacksmiths of the *Kel Dennek* country around Tawa. They had temporarily settled not far from Agadez to work among pastoral *Kel Ayr*. The camp comprised only three tents which were very small – about 4.00 × 2.00 m with a height of about 1.20 m. The tents were structurally identical and had sheets sewn together from many small pieces of skin resting upon the following structure:— A central arch at right angles to the longitudinal direction. It was called *teḳḳeḳḳewat* (pl. *teḳḳeḳḳewatin*) like the central arch of the ordinary mat tent among the Ayr Tuareg. At both sides of this arch and parallel to it there was a somewhat lower horizontal cross-bar resting upon two forked sticks (*tigettewin*, sing. *tégettewt*). The sheet rested upon this structure and was fastened to a few upright poles fixed in the ground around it. There were three such sticks at the front and at the back, and one at each of the narrow ends. A mat about one metre high belonged to the tent; this mat was not a normal *afezu* mat, but plaited – apparently of dum palm material (cf. Fig. 272). A wooden bed (*tédabut*) was placed in the middle of the tent, occupying most of its ground area.

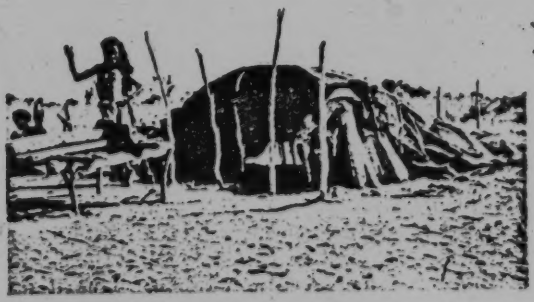

Fig. 271. Skin tent of the B.2.a.2. type. Ahaggar Tuareg of Tamesna, the *Ireɣenaten* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

THE FEDERATION OF AHAGGAR TUAREG

(Size of tribes according to Lhote 1955a, p. 225 ff. from statistics of 1949.)

	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	*Iseḳḳemaren* tribes
The *Kel Ḍela* Drum-Group	*Kel Ḍela* 275 To-day many of them live in Tamesna. They intermarry with other noble tribes, with the *Iforas* group, and sometimes with Arabs and their own vassal tribes. But women of pure noble stock will not generally be allowed to marry vassal men. The *Kel Ḍela* women, like noble women of the *Uraren* (Tasilé-n-Ajjer) and *Kel Ferwan* (Ayr), do not associate freely with people of other classes.	*Dag Ḍali* 386 *Ayt Lowayen* 400 *Aguh-en-tehle* 585 *Ḍelayddin* 40 *Iklan-en-tawsit* 500 *Ibettenaten* 129 *Ireḍenaten* 435 These two tribes are not true vassals by origin. The *Ibettenaten* is said formerly to have had noble status and the *Ireḍenaten* descend matrilineally from the *Ibettenaten*, patrilineally from Arabs.	*Iheyawen Hada* 253 *Kel Imṛer* 176 *Kel Tẽfedest* 61 *Kel Immidir* 179 *Kel Tazulet* 158 The *Iseḳḳemaren* tribes descend from mixed marriages between Arab men and Tuareg women or are Arabs who have become assimilated by the Tuareg. They are said formerly to have been the vassals of the noble *Kel-ahem-mellen* tribe. The powerful Arab tribe of Tidikelt, the *Ulad Ba Hammu*, claims that they were originally their vassals.

territorial chief over the country inhabited by the vassals of the *Kel Ḍela* drum-group. He had the right to dues from caravans passing through the territory of that drum-group, while further west such dues were given to the chief of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group. He had the right to land rents from the vassals of his groups, while land rents further west in the *Taytoḳ* country belonged to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ* group.

To-day the *Amenukal* holds a very strong position as chief of the whole country of Ahaggar, and his power has been much augmented because the French govern the country through him. In the past the position of the *Amenukal* was a less powerful one. All Tuareg say that he was then not particularly strong, and there are many examples of the vassals of his own drum-group showing disobedient to him. The *Amenukal* had to be elected, and, contrary to what is often stated in literature on the subject, he was not elected by the noble Tuareg of his own tribe, though they had a certain influence, but by his vassals who also had the right to dismiss an *Amenukal* if dissatisfied with him. The *Amenukal* lived like other Tuareg and his sole insignia was the drum which followed him on journeys and served to summon his vassals.

We have mentioned above (p. 148 ff.) that the *Amenukal* even to-day receives a land-rent (*éhéré-n-amaḍal*) from all tenants of the sub-areas of vassal tribal territories, and the rules of payments and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

	Noble tribes	Vassal tribes	*Isekkemaren* tribes
The *Taytoḳ* Drum-Group	*Taytoḳ* 33 There are hardly any Tuareg of pure *Taytoḳ* stock left in Ahaggar to-day. They are now in Tamesna together with their chief *Mokhammed ag Mokhammed* who possesses the drum. During a visit to Ahaggar 1954 he received as a gift 14 or 15 camels from his vassals still living in that region. Many vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group also now live in Tamesna. The *Taytoḳ* and their vassals frequently intermarry, and such mixed marriages were also quite common in the past.	*Kel Ahnet* 127 *Iwerweren* 47 *Tégehé-n-Efis* 127 *Ikuttisen* 84 *Ikechchemaden* (now mixed with the *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group). *Irechchumen* A tribe patrilineally related to the noble *Taytoḳ*, matrilineally to the vassal tribe of *Kel Ahnet*. In 1938 it comprised about 10 tents and 60 individuals.	*Kel I-n-tunin* (about 20 tents in 1938).
The *Tégehé-Mellet* Drum-Group	*Tégehé Mellet* 33	*Kel Turha* (part of the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe of the *Kel Rela* drum-group).	*Kel Terwit* 62 *Kel Uhet* 70
Noble Tribes Without Vassals	*Kel-ahem-mellen*	The *Isekkemaren* tribes are said formerly to have been vassals of this tribe	
	Ikadeyen	Very few in number and mainly living at the small cultivation centre of Tit.	

rights have been outlined. These payments were also made to the *Amenukal* by people of his drum-group in the past, and then as now he received an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* from all vassal tribes. The size of such *tiwsé* payments in the past is unknown, but they have no doubt varied from one tribe to another as they do to-day. I describe in brief the *tiwsé* payments made by the two most important vassal tribes to illustrate this:— (1) The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe is divided into three sub-tribes which make their *tiwsé* payments separately as follows: The *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe gives 600 kgs of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kgs of butter. The man who brings this payment to the *Amenukal* is rewarded with 15 metres of cotton. The *Isandan* sub-tribe gives 300 kgs of millet

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the region of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*, and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Tribes of the Kel Ferwan Drum-Group

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1. *The Irawatten Group*

Tribes	Number of Individuals & Households (Nicolas 1950b)		Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Irawatten	350	58	There are to-day very few pure noble Tuareg of this dominant noble tribe, as the members have intermarried with negroid peoples and with the *Kel Geres*. The pure noble house-holds number about ten. The chief is also the chief of the *Irawatten* group and the drum-chief of the whole *Kel Ferwan* group.	Télewa (western part)
Kel Tédalé (3 tribes)	1300		They claim to be of noble descent. They are officially vassals of the *Irawatten*, but are nevertheless very independent politically.	Talak Uraren Zurika
Kel Akérra	164	39	Of noble descent with the *Ibararojiten* as their particular vassals. Intermarry frequently with the *Imezzureg* and with the *Kel Tédalé*.	Ti-n-Teburak
Imezzureg	106	20	Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akérra* and the *Isakaranan* with whom they intermarry.	Terezzet
Isakaranan	653	107	Of noble descent and related to the *Kel Akerra* and the *Imezzureg*.	Ti-n-Tebezgin
Igendéynen A section of former slaves known as *Tindeku* is grouped together with this tribe.	247	55	Always close to the camp of the drum-chief as soldiers permanently under his command.	Burhal
Iberdyanen (2 tribes)	621	97	Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants.	Gufat Éknawen Téwendegit
Ikkoberen			Living close to the noble *Irawatten* as their servants.	
Ayt Uren	160			Maramaru
Idaléyen	218	67		Telhecham

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 [redacted] Tuareg MS25

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Ifaḍèyen (2 tribes)			Kurubobo Imechchamelawen Turuf Beynabu Ti-n-Dawin Anyalen Abalemma Ékawél
Elbaraten			Anwacher
Ibararojiten		Originally the particular vassals of the *Kel Akerra* tribe.	Endegra
Itagan		Very few in number and without any tribal organization. They are placed directly under the drum-chief as his servants, and are considered a kind of "white slaves" to other *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. In the *Kel Fadey* group there is a tribe of *Itagan* Tuareg. Their traditional homeland is said to be the region of Meneka in the country of the *Western Iwllemmeden*.	Éleleg
Iṛawélen		Pastoral Negroes who in the remote past were slaves of the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. Culturally they are akin to other Tuareg pastoralists, but they have no tribal organization and are placed directly under the drum-chief's command.	Tombalaga Akadaney Meygawey

2. *The Kel Azel Group*

Tribes	Number of Individuals (Nicolas 1950b)	& Households	Notes	Traditional Grazing Grounds
Kel Azel	180	47	Nowadays very few in number. It is said that there are only four households of pure noble origin.	Anoyaran Tiṛezrin Tafadek Gufat
Imezzuren	162	31		Tiṛezrin

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 · MS25 Tuareg MS25

Kel Tésemt	237		Related to the *Imezzilalen* and the *Ikojjejiten* together with whom they are said to have constituted one tribe.	Assa and eastern part of Télewa
Imezzilalen		27	Related to the *Kel Tésemt*.	Assa and eastern part of Télewa
Ikojjejiten			A section of the *Imezzilalen*.	Afarak
Ifoɬɬar	42	12	Related to the *Kel Tésemt*, the *Imezzilalen*, and the *Ikojjejiten*.	Eastern part of Télewa
Ikawkan	150		Said to have been the particular servants of the noble *Kel Azel*.	
Ijakarkaren	203	41	Said to be related to the *Igendéynen*.	Tafadek
Iforas (2 tribes)	396	95	They came to Ayr from Adrar of the Iforas about one hundred years ago.	Tédeyin
Iŋawélen			A certain number of these negroid pastoralists, who once in the past were slaves, is placed directly under the command of the chief of the *Kel Azel*. They have no tribal organization. They are probably included in the figure of the *Kel Azel* mentioned above.	

To-day all Tuareg claim that a chief whether a drum-chief or a chief of a vassal tribe should be succeeded by his son, and that a sister's son may inherit the position. These rules have not always been followed in the election of drum-chiefs in the *Kel Ferwan* group, for the drum-chiefs have always been elected exclusively by the vassals, and after the French occupation they have even elected drum-chiefs who did not belong to the noble *Kel Ferwan*. Most probably it was not so in pre-European times, but the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg unfortunately have a very fragmentary knowledge of their drum-chiefs in the past. They say that fifty chiefs have reigned over the group until now. This figure, of course, should not be taken too literally, although there have most certainly been many chiefs of whom nothing is known. The names are known of the first four chiefs who are said to have reigned over the group in the very remote past, but the more recent are not remembered further back than the latter half of the 19th century.

The first drum-chiefs were the following:—

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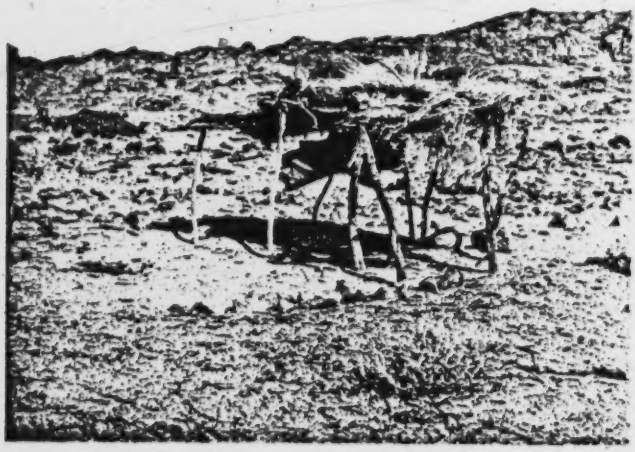

Fig. 290. Sun-shade built of branches and grass. It is the normal living quarters for slaves in Ahaggar and for a great part of the year it is more suitable to the climate than Tuareg skin tents. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe.

567 646 [162] military administrators have tacitly admitted that slavery continues as an established institution. According to a census of 1949, there are in Ahaggar 1552 slaves owned by 3960 pastoral Tuareg (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 224 ff.), and in two tribes the number of slaves exceeds that of fair-skinned Tuareg, namely in the *Dag Rali* and in the *Kel Rela*. Most Ahaggar Tuareg have a few slaves in their camps, while in Ayr very few fair-skinned pastoralists have slaves nowadays. The civil administration of Ayr has done much to secure the abolishment of slavery, and it seems as if many slaves were manumitted after the 1917 revolt. Slavery is actually almost devoid of economic importance in Ayr, while in Ahaggar it plays a great part in the maintenance of the economic system based upon camel-breeding outside Ahaggar and on caravan-trading.

567 [184]

The structural position of slavery is apparently very much the same in Ahaggar and in Ayr. Slaves are their owners' property; they can no longer be traded, but even in pre-European days it was never usual to sell slaves from one's own camp. The slaves are still inherited within one and the same family, and until a few years ago it was the custom for a slave girl to form part of the bride-wealth. Despite everything this may perhaps be taken as an indication that slaves are not conspicuously well treated, and there are also examples of the corporal punishment of slaves. This may occur even to-day, the rule being that certain misdemeanours, for which the light-skinned Tuareg atone by paying a fine of domestic animals, may be punished in the case of [illegible]es by a flogging on the order of senior chiefs.